565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
●574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83]
513] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
[648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well.

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little

these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/ the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar, because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place in Sudanese animal husbandry.

It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence, as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

/252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ẍnaba, the panther; Ẍbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ẍhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each person takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And everyone jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides. Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•VJ , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

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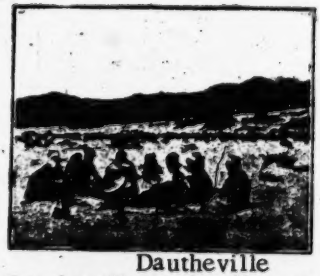

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⴹⵊⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 396
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg. But the relation *(temaɜlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

222 *aṛemmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abroṛ*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aǧera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

lewliwen (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

taleggit (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

izéyan (*Asphodelus temuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

telokat (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

adamam (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

tanesmimi (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

tawit (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

aramas (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

ébedébed (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

éhéyefyef (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

aǧar (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

tadant (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

aggasit (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

aherera (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

azezzeǧa (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

tanekfayt (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

tamaghé (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

ahwat (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aḍiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aḍak-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food

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[Text continues on p. 231]

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225).

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106).

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg.

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens.

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *ćwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[374]

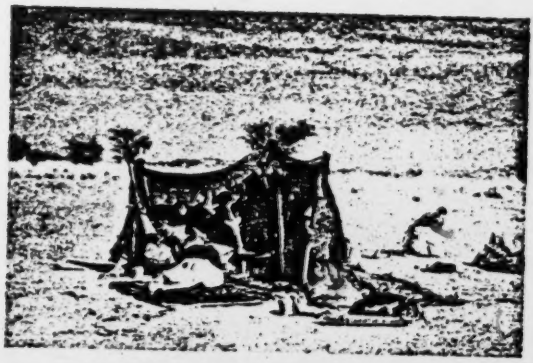

Fig. 284a. The skin sheet erected as a wind-screen for visitors. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

[291]

Fig. 284b. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a Tuareg camp. Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-entehlé* tribe.

Fig. 284c. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a *Bélla* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.